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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[1]

Fire making.—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

Tanning.—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[2]

> After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[2] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 210-211.

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off on the upper surface. The beaming tool is then grasped in both hands and pushed away from the user against the grain of the hair over the skin where it lies on the smoothed surface of the stick or log. This process is the same as that followed by the Northern Ojibway and Eastern Cree. The next step is to stretch the skin on a square, upright frame. A fleshing tool is then brought to bear, although the beamer is often made to answer this purpose. When the skin has been fleshed, it is soaked in a mixture of deer's brains and water. No grease is added. This preparation is kept in liquid form in a pail and lasts some time. After remaining in the brain fluid for a time, the skin is taken out and thoroughly washed. Then it is taken by the tanner—who is always a woman—and dried. While the skin is drying, it is rubbed with a wooden spatula to make it flexible. It is now ready for the last step—smoking. For this process it is first sewed up into a cylindrical shape, and the upper end is tied together to form a bag. By this closed upper end it is then suspended over a shallow hole from a stick driven obliquely into the ground at an angle of about 45 degrees. In the hole a fire is built with dried wood. The open lower edge of the skin bag is pegged or fastened to the ground about the edge of the hole.

Games and Amusements

Lacrosse was the favorite game of the Winnebago. This was generally played on ceremonial occasions. Whenever played, the two divisions of the tribe, the Waⁿgxre'gi and the Maⁿge'gi, were pitted against each other. There were two kinds of lacrosse, one played by men and the other played by women; these differed in a number of particulars.

FIG. 27.—Men's lacrosse. A, Goal. B, B', Goal guards of wañgxreg side. C, C', Goal guards of maⁿge'gi side. D, Mound from which ball is thrown.

Men's lacrosse.—The men's game was called *teabonino'ⁿgugia hik'isik'*. There were either 12 or 22 men on each side, placed in the following manner: Two, one of each side, stood in front of the arched sapling which constituted one of the goals (*wak'a'rani*); these were called *teoi'ⁿgra*. There were, of course, two goals, each about 10 feet high, one at each end of the field. About midway between the goals a small mound was made from which the ball was thrown. Ten or twenty men, as the case may be, covered the ground between the mound and the two men stationed at each *wak'a'rani*. The lacrosse stick was called *teabonadu'gis*, and the ball used either *tci-oko'nõnkra* or *waⁿi'ⁿna*. The object of the game was to put the ball through the goal four times. At the beginning of the game the ball was thrown straight into the air from the mound. (For plan of the game, see fig. 27.)

Ceremonial lacrosse.—The following description of a ceremonial lacrosse game was given by a member of the Bear clan:

The Waⁿgxre'gi and the Maⁿge'gi people were to play lacrosse. So the Waⁿgxre'gi took an invitation stick and attached some tobacco to it and sent it to the Maⁿge'gi people. Thus they fixed a day for the contest. The contest was to be in four days. In the meantime both sides were to get ready, for some might be without balls or sticks, etc. Then the Waⁿgxre'gi said, "We are the fleeter and will therefore go and

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The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

X 796 614 773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

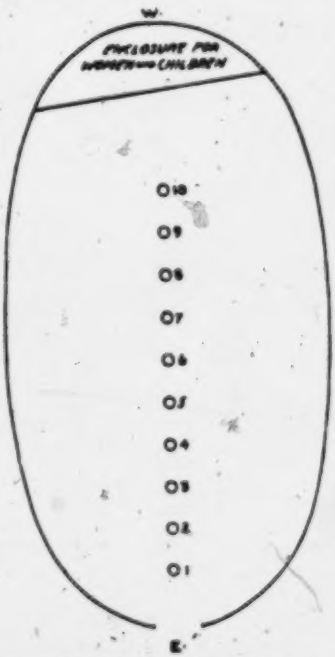

Fig. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for chief-feast-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for herbs.

X 796 [604] [574 281] [886] X 796 782 776 The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others

X 796 782 not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and [372 778] pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

[1] This is a generalized account.